

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10

NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00 MBFR-03

SAJ-01 DODE-00 SS-15 NSC-10 EB-11 OMB-01 ACDA-19 H-03

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 175084

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MCAP, NATO

SUBJECT: PROPOSED ACTION PROGRAM ON BURDENSARING

REF: (A) USNATO 3817; (B) USNATO 3818

1. WE HAVE CAREFULLY GONE OVER YOUR EXCELLENT
ACTION PROGRAM AND PROPOSED STATEMENT ON BURDENSARING.
WE BELIEVE THIS IS EXACTLY THE SORT OF MANAGEMENT
PUSH WHICH IS NEEDED IF THE BURDENSARING AND OTHER
NATO RELATED ELEMENTS OF THE YEAR OF EUROPE ARE TO
SUCCEED. SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS, WE CONCUR
IN BOTH THE GENERAL CONTENT OF THE PROPOSED
PRESENTATION AND THE ACTION PLAN.

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2. WE AGREE THAT US MUST MOVE PROGRAM FORWARD IF WE

ARE TO ENSURE TIMELY RESULTS WITH CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT WHILE PUSHING OTHERS TO ACTION, WE SHOULD PRESERVE THE NECESSARY FLEXIBILITY TO ENSURE A VIABLE PROGRAM IN WHICH THE ALLIES CHOOSE THEIR OWN LEADERSHIP, SET THEIR OWN PRIORITIES, DEVELOP AND PROPOSE THEIR PROGRAM JUST AS THEY DID IN THE EDIP. THEREFORE, WE BELIEVE YOUR PRESENTATION SHOULD EMPHASIZE THAT THE OVERRIDING US OBJECTIVE IS TO PROVIDE THE BOP AND BUDGETARY SUPPORT IN THE AMOUNTS STATED IN PARA 4 OF STATE 150394 BY WHATEVER MEANS IS

MOST ACCEPTABLE TO THE ALLIES.

3. WE RECOGNIZE THE VALUE OF PROVIDING THE ALLIES WITH SOME SPECIFIC MEASURES ILLUSTRATIVE OF THE KINDS OF APPROACHES WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN. WE FEEL ANY MAJOR PRESENTATION SHOULD BE CAREFULLY WRITTEN TO ENSURE THAT THE RESULTING AGREEMENT IS CONSISTENT WITH THE AIMS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH 7C, STATE 150394. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THAT FOLLOWING PREVIOUS GUIDANCE, IT WOULD NOT BE WISE TO MENTION FINANCIAL MEASURES SUCH AS LOANS AT THIS TIME. IN ADDITION, IT SHOULD ALSO BE MADE CLEAR THAT CAPITAL IMPROVEMENTS PAID FOR AS PART OF AN AGREEMENT MUST BE TAKEN FROM THOSE PROJECTS CURRENTLY PLANNED AND FOR WHICH APPROPRIATIONS HAVE BEEN APPROVED OR ARE EXPECTED FROM CONGRESS. OTHERWISE, THEY WILL NOT REDUCE ACTUAL PLANNED US EXPENDITURES OR THE ESTIMATED BOP DEFICITS. WE ALSO BELIEVE THAT, FOLLOWING PREVIOUS GUIDANCE, FINANCIAL MEASURES SUCH AS LOANS SHOULD NOT BE MENTIONED AT THIS TIME.

4. AS OUR WORK PROGRESSES, WE WILL HAVE TO USE A VARIETY OF MEASURES TO IMPRESS ON ALLIES THE NEED TO DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM URGENTLY AND EFFECTIVELY IN ORDER TO ASSUAGE PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL SENTIMENT THAT OUR TROOP PRESENCE IN EUROPE SHOULD BE RADICALLY REDUCED. IT STRIKES US THAT SOME EMPHASIS ON THE PROPOSED JACKSON-NUNN AMENDMENT TO THE DEFENSE APPROPRIATION BILL COULD BE USEFUL IN THIS REGARD.
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5. WE BELIEVE THAT THE WORKING GROUP RECENTLY ESTABLISHED TO STUDY THE US BURDENSARING PROBLEM OFFERS A SUITABLE FORUM FOR DEVELOPING A NATO SOLUTION. WE SHOULD CONTINUE COOPERATING CLOSELY WITH THE GROUP AND ENVISAGE IT TO DEVELOP SOME PROPOSAL FOR NAC CONSIDERATION BY 1 OCTOBER. HOWEVER, WE MUST AVOID GETTING INVOLVED IN SUCH DIFFICULT AND POTENTIALLY

EMBARRASING QUESTIONS AS HOW MUCH EACH ALLY SHOULD PAY. OUR OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE TO GET A SIGNIFICANT, TIMELY AND HIGH QUALITY BURDENSARING CONTRIBUTION FROM THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE. WHO PAYS AND HOW MUCH IS A PROBLEM PROPERLY LEFT TO THE ALLIES. OUR REPRESENTATIVE ON THE STUDY GROUP SHOULD, THEREFORE, MAINTAIN A COOPERATIVE AND FORTHCOMING POSTURE BUT AVOID BEING PLACED IN A POSITION OF ARBITRATING AMONG THE ALLIES.

6. SINCE BILATERAL OFFSET NEGOTIATIONS WITH GERMAN GOVERNMENT ARE SCHEDULED TO GET UNDERWAY NEXT MONTH, YOU SHOULD PROBABLY STRESS AGAIN TO THE GERMANS THAT

ANY COMMITMENT THEY UNDERTAKE UNDER BILATERAL AGREEMENT FOR FY 74 AND 75 WILL BE TAKEN FULLY INTO ACCOUNT IN ANY FUTURE MULTILATERAL BURDENSARING ARRANGEMENT.

7. WE BELIEVE THE PROPOSED SCENARIO OUTLINED IN REFTEL IS THE SORT OF AGGRESSIVE PLAN NEEDED TO PUSH BURDEN-SHARING EFFORTS IN NATO AND IN US. ALTHOUGH MANY OF THE DATES ARE NOW OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS, WE WILL STILL ENDEAVOR TO ACCOMPLISH THE OBJECTIVES DESCRIBED WHICH WE CONCUR IN WITH THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS:

PARA 4B, CONCUR. STATEMENT SHOULD BE MADE AT NEXT NAC MEETING. (SEE SEPTTEL FOR SPECIFIC COMMENT ON PRESENTATION.)

PARA 4C. ALTHOUGH WE ARE UNCERTAIN REGARDING THE FEASIBILITY OF ARRANGING THESE MEETINGS, WE WILL ENDEAVOR TO SCHEDULE THEM AT THE SECRETARY, DEPUTY SECRETARY OR ASSISTANT SECRETARY LEVEL AS REQUIRED. CONFIDENTIAL

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HIGHER LEVEL CONTACTS SHOULD ALSO BE PLANNED FOR SUCH TIME AS NEGOTIATIONS SHOW SIGNS OF BREAKING DOWN OR PRODUCING SIGNIFICANTLY LESS RESULTS THAN DESIRED.

PARA 4D, CONCUR. STATEMENT COULD BE GIVEN TO FOREIGN MINISTRIES WHO WOULD BE URGED TO GIVE IMMEDIATE ATTENTION AND GUIDANCE TO WORKING GROUP ON BURDENSARING.

4E. WE FAVOR THIS STEP AND WILL BE IN FURTHER TOUCH WITH YOU REGARDING ITS IMPLEMENTATION. IT IS IMPORTANT TO KEEP CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC INFORMED AND INSOFAR AS POSSIBLE TRY TO AVOID LEADING CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC TO EXPECT MORE THAN WE CAN REALISTICALLY BELIEVE THE ALLIES WILL PROVIDE. THE TIMING WILL DEPEND ON PROGRESS IN THE ALLIANCE.

4F. CONCUR. HERE, TOO, TIMING WILL BE AFFECTED
BY DEVELOPMENTS IN BRUSSELS.

4G-H. WE AGREE WITH THE DESIRABILITY OF THESE TWO
MEASURES. A TEAM COULD BE MADE AVAILABLE TO VISIT
INTERESTED CAPITALS. HOWEVER, THESE VISITS SHOULD BE
DESIGNED TO STRESS THE IMPORTANCE OF BURDENSARING TO
EACH INDIVIDUAL ALLY. WE SHOULD SPECIFICALLY AVOID
THE APPEARANCE OF CONDUCTING BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS
OR INTERFERENCE IN THE INTERNAL DECISION MAKING PROCESS
OF THE ALLIANCE STUDY GROUP.

4J-K. CONCUR.

8. WE WOULD EXPECT TO KEEP KEY MEMBERS OF THE CONGRESS
INFORMED, GIVING EMPHASIS ON SPECIFIC DETAILS OR
PROPOSALS. OUR CURRENT EFFORTS SHOULD FOCUS ON SOME
VISIBLE AND POSITIVE RESULTS OF THE OCTOBER 1 REPORT,
IF ONLY IN TERMS OF A COMMITMENT. THIS WOULD GIVE US
AMMUNITION FOR PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL PRESENTATIONS AT
A TIME WHEN THE SITUATION ON THE HILL MAY BE CRITICAL.

9. WHILE WE CONCUR IN OVERALL GOAL STATED IN PARA 6
REFTEL, AGAIN WE WANT TO AVOID ENTERING INTO BILATERAL
NEGOTIATIONS WITH OUR WEALTHIER ALLIES (WITH OBVIOUS
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EXCEPTION OF FRG). RATHER, THE ENTIRE ALLIANCE SHOULD
BE MADE TO RECOGNIZE THE SUBSTANTIAL DANGER THAT US
TROOPS WILL BE WITHDRAWN FROM EUROPE IF THE ALLIES DO
NOT TAKE EARLY AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES TO REDUCE THE
US MILITARY BOP DEFICIT. SINCE THE COUNTRIES IN THE
CENTRAL SECTOR, WHERE THE BULK OF OUR FORCES ARE
CONCENTRATED, ARE AT ONCE THOSE WITH GREATEST ABILITY
TO PAY AND WHICH WOULD STAND TO LOSE THE MOST BY US
TROOP REDUCTIONS, THEY WILL, AIDED BY OUR CONSTANT
PRODDING, MORE EASILY UNDERSTAND WHO IN THE LONG RUN
MUST MAKE THE GREATER PART OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS.

10. CONCUR WITH PARAS 7 AND 8. ROGERS

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